

## *Jinnah's Vision of Pakistan*

**Dr. Safdar Mahmood\***

Was Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, a *secular person* or he visualized Pakistan to be a secular state? Who is Secular? The dictionary meanings of the term suggests that the one person concerned with the affairs of this world and not bound by a religious rule is called a secular person. The general perception of a secular person is the one who believes in the separation of religion and the temporal world i.e. who considers religion as one's personal and private matter which has nothing to do with the affairs of the state.

In Pakistan a debate has been going on for the past many decades as to the Quaid's vision of Pakistan. A small number of writers, especially those contributing to the English press, insist that Quaid-i-Azam envisaged Pakistan's political structure independent of the Islamic principles and desired to establish a secular democratic state. On the contrary, a large majority of the Pakistanis firmly believe that Pakistan was envisioned as a democratic but modern and Islamic state because the country was achieved in the name of Islam.

The best way to understand Jinnah's religious moorings and his vision of Pakistan is to examine his approach towards life and to study the consistent themes of his relevant speeches and statements extending over four decades. For example we come across Jinnah's decision to seek admission in Lincoln's Inn for his Bar-at-Law because it included the name of the Holy Prophet of Islam in the list of great lawgivers of the world. It was mentioned

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\* Senior Civil Servant, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad.

by the Quaid himself while addressing the Karachi Bar Association on *Eid Miladun-Nabi*.<sup>1</sup> The true significance of his decision cannot be easily appreciated because Jinnah appears to be a fine model of the western life style in all respects. Such a decision could be taken only by a person whose heart was kindled with the deep love for the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him); otherwise a young man of seventeen years is not expected to attach any importance to such matters in the free for all environment of London. I have referred to early years of Jinnah's life because upbringing and education received during the formative period makes lasting impressions and plays a crucial role in shaping attitudes. Jinnah's father Jinnah Bhai Poonja had religious inclination<sup>2</sup> and used to teach Holy Qur'an to the children of his locality in the evening.<sup>3</sup> In his childhood, Jinnah had developed an interest in listening to Islamic historical tales from his mother before going to sleep. Jinnah's father, a teacher at Mission School of Karachi, in addition to his involvement in business, preferred to get his son admitted in Sind Madaressatul Islam because in the Mission School students were given lessons on Christianity whereas Sind Madrassah had Islamic milieu. According to the Madrassah's record the word "Muhammadan"<sup>4</sup> was registered in front of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's name instead of "Khoja". On migration to Bombay, the Anjuman-i Islamia School was selected for Jinnah for the same reasons. Thus, brought up in a religious cradle Jinnah received his early education in an Islamic environment, which motivated him to select the Lincoln's Inn.

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1. Syed Sharif-ud-din Pirzada, *Some Aspects of Quaid-e-Azam's Life* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical & Cultural Research, 1978), p.10 [*Eid-i Miladun-Nabi* means birthday celebrations of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH)]. See also Hector Bolitho, Jinnah, *Creator of Pakistan* (Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1969), p.9.
  2. Poonja's religious propensity and family background can be visualised from the fact that when Jinnah sought his father's permission to join a theatrical company in London so that he could become financially independent, Poonja wrote him a long letter disapproving the proposal. One sentence that touched Jinnah the most was. "Do not be a traitor to the family." Pirzada, p.11.
  3. Rizwan Ahmad, *Quaid-e-Azam - Ibtidai Tees Saal, (1876-1906)* (Urdu) (Lahore: Aatish Fashan Publications, 1987), p.65.
  4. *Ibid.*, p.68.

After completing his bar at Lincoln's Inn at the age of twenty, Jinnah reached Bombay in 1896. His religious propensity and interest in the welfare of the Muslims was evident from the fact that soon after reaching Bombay he started taking active part in the activities of Anjuman-i Islamia, an organisation of the Muslims. He attended its first meeting on 8th July 1897 and a month later on 12th August he attended *Eid Miladun-Nabi* function of the Anjuman.<sup>5</sup> His love for the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) can be judged from the fact that despite his legal and political engagements, he found time to attend the aforementioned commemorations.

Jinnah's career as a legislator began on 17 March 1911 when he introduced his first legislative bill on *Waqf* (tax exemption for Muslim endowments). As a result of the decision of the Privy Council of London in 1894, Islamic law of *Waqf-ul Aulad* was rendered ineffective because the Privy Council had invalidated testamentary gifts of Muslim property left in tax free *Waqf* (trust) for ultimate reversion to religious charity. The Muslims felt perturbed over the Privy Council's decision but were helpless against the British government. Jinnah took upon himself, as a representative of the Muslim community in the Council to move the *Waqf* Validating Bill seeking legislative reversal of the Privy Council decision charging that it was opposed to the fundamental principles of Islamic jurisprudence. After lengthy debates extending over a period of two years, Jinnah succeeded in getting the bill passed on March 5, 1913. It was the first issue on which he 'opened his mouth in the Council' and was the first religious bill moved by a Muslim member of the Imperial Legislative Council, which became law of the land to the advantage of the Indian Muslims.

When Jinnah decided to marry Miss Ruttie Dinshaw, daughter of Bombay's famous Parsee leader, Sir Dinshaw Petit, he asked her to embrace Islam, which she did and accepted Islam as her new religion. Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, the well-known Pakistani religious leader, has verified this fact. He claims that Jinnah used

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5. Dr. Riaz Ahmad, *The Works of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, Vol.I, (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam Chair, N.I.P.S. Quaid-i-Azam University, 1996), p.4.

to consult and seek guidance in religious matters from his real uncle Maulana Nazir Siddiqui, *Imam* of Jamia Masjid Bombay, and a *Sunni* religious scholar who died at Madinatul Munawwarah and was buried in *Jannat-ul Baquee'* graveyard. Thus Muhammad Ali Jinnah took Ruttie to Maulana Nazir Siddiqui, for conversion to Islam.<sup>6</sup>

Jinnah's prudence and circumspection is well known. He would never take any decision without weighing it properly. It is generally believed that he belonged to the *Shi'a* sect of Isna Ash'ari. No doubt his family had the same religious background but the question is why did he not select any *Shi'a* scholar for performing the ceremony of Ruttie's embracing Islam. However, their *nikah* was performed by the Isna Ash'ari Qazi.<sup>7</sup> This small and insignificant issue suggests us that Jinnah was far above sectarianism.<sup>8</sup> It became further clear when somebody asked him as to which sect he belonged *Sunni* or *Shi'a*? The Quaid retorted: "What was the religion of the Holy Prophet" (peace be upon him)? During his visit to Quetta, a *Shi'a* delegation called on Jinnah. During the meeting, a member of the delegation remarked that we have prior right on you because you belong to our sect. Quaid's reply was curt, "No. I am a Muslim".<sup>9</sup> Such instances amply speak about his attitude of mind and perception of religion. The renowned religious scholar Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani, a stalwart of the Sunnis, led funeral prayers of the Quaid.

It is an interesting co-incidence that Jinnah's only daughter, Dina Jinnah, was born on the midnight of 14th and 15th August 1919 and exactly 28 years later on the midnight of 14th and 15th August, 1947 his political offspring, Pakistan emerged on the world map.

It is a fact that Muhammad Ali Jinnah immensely loved his daughter, who was the only symbol of his first and the last love,

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6. Pirzada, p.46.

7. *Ibid.*

8. S.M. Burke, *Jinnah: Speeches & Statements* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.148.

9. Hanif Shahid, *Quaid-i-Azam awr Islam* (Urdu) (Lahore: Bookman, 2001), p.34.

yet when Dina decided to marry a Parsee youth, Neville Wadia, Muhammad Ali Jinnah severed his relations with her forever. It can be argued that Jinnah could maintain social relations with her; after all she was his only daughter. There are many such examples where liberal Muslims have been maintaining social relations with their converted sons and daughters. But Jinnah decided to part his ways with Dina, never to see her again, because for him Dina's parting with Islam meant permanent parting with Jinnah. After her conversion, Jinnah did not even mention her to his friends as if he never had a daughter. After her marriage, Dina wrote letters to her father, which he replied like a civilised and cultured person, but made it a point to address her as Mrs. Wadia<sup>10</sup> instead of "My dear Dina". It is a well known fact that Mrs. Wadia wanted to visit Pakistan to see her ailing father, the Governor General of Pakistan, but her request was turned down by the Quaid in spite of attempts at persuasion by some family friends. She came to Pakistan for the first and the last time, only to mourn the death of her late father.

Muhammad Sharif Toosy of Wazirabad, was an educationist and a learned man. Despite his government service constraints, he contributed convincingly impressive articles to the press supporting Muslim demand for Pakistan, which caused a stir in the political circles. Jinnah admired his articles and asked for his assistance for the wider dissemination of his message through the press. During his stay in Bombay with the Quaid for six months Toosy happened to see Jinnah from very close quarters. Toosy says that Jinnah's library had a valuable treasure of books on various Islamic subjects like *Seerat-un-Nabi*, (life of the Prophet PBUH) Islamic history, Islamic law, English translation of Holy Qur'an, and the biographies of the pious Caliphs, which Jinnah used to study at intervals during his legal and political preoccupations.

It is worth recalling that after the battle of Badar, one of the sons of Hazrat Abu Bakar, Abdur Rehman, who had not yet embraced Islam disclosed to his father that during the battle he had a chance to kill him but he refrained as "you are my father". Hazrat Abu Bakar replied: "By God if I had found you in my range, I

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10. Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.370.

would have killed you". It means that in Islam loyalty to religion and not to blood determines relationship. Thus Jinnah followed the same principle by severing his relations with his only daughter after she renounced Islam. Some people may comment that Jinnah's reaction to his daughter's marriage was his attitudinal or egoistic response. Objective study of this episode would lead us to the conclusion that it was not the question of Jinnah's ego but a matter of his religious sensibility. Detailed account of this episode, based on original source, has been given by Stanley Wolpert who writes that when Dina had expressed her wish to marry Wadia, "Jinnah tried his best to dissuade her... Jinnah in his usual imperious manner told her that there were millions of Muslim boys in India and she could have anyone she chose".<sup>11</sup> Dina's insistence disappointed Jinnah who never spoke to her after she married.<sup>12</sup> It is obvious that Jinnah wanted Dina to marry a Muslim, not any particular person or a family. By laying down the condition of "any Muslim" he made it clear that it was the question of religion and not of temporal world, nor a problem of his ego.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani<sup>13</sup> has revealed that once he wanted to discuss a problem of immediate nature with Jinnah and he went to see him early in the morning, knowing that he was an early riser. The guard at his house led him to the waiting room and told him to wait as Jinnah was expected any moment. According to Maulana, he waited for sometime and then decided to enter the next room himself in order to find Jinnah. As he entered the adjacent room, he heard a sobbing voice. The Maulana got worried and quietly peeped through the curtain on the door. He was surprised to find

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11. Stanley Wolpert, p.370.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Maulana Hasrat Mohani was a pious and a courageous dedicated Muslim League leader who did not hesitate from criticising Jinnah even at formal Muslim League meetings and Jinnah too held him in great esteem. The Maulana took a leading part in the independence struggle, was detained many times by the British government and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. Pakistan was the mission of his life, yet he decided to stay in India after the establishment of Pakistan. He lived and died in India because his struggle and sacrifices were targeted towards the achievement of Pakistan, for the collective welfare of the Indian Muslims and not for his own person. Despite financial constraints he performed *Hajj* eleven times and *Umra* twelve times. Cited in Munshi Abdul Rehman, *Tameer-e-Pakistan aur Ulema-e-Rabbani* (Urdu) (Lahore: Idarah-i Islamiyat, 1992), p.85.

Jinnah prostrated on the prayer mat and weeping. He said that he hastened to return to the waiting room quietly. It is quite evident that a person who weeps while prostrating in prayer would be the one who is God-fearing and whose heart beats with a profound faith and is endowed with the blessing of the love for Allah. It reminds me of another episode. Zaheer-ul-Islam Farooqui has disclosed that once Maulana Hasrat Mohani was travelling in a train in connection with the 1945-46-election campaign with a group of Muslim League workers. During the conversation, he emphatically said: "Don't worry, Pakistan will come into being in any case, Insha Allah." A prominent journalist of Sindh, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi asked the Maulana how was he so confident about it while both the Congress and the British were opposed to the demand for Pakistan. The Maulana replied that he was sure about it because he was lucky enough to see the Holy Prophet (PBUH) in a dream who gave him the tidings of Pakistan coming into being.<sup>14</sup>

Jinnah's impeccable character and integrity has been eulogized by all including his worst opponents. He was a man of principles and commanded great respect. Especially the Muslims had blind faith in him and were prepared to make any sacrifice for him. According to Toosi, Jinnah had carefully studied the life of the Holy Prophet (*Seerat-un-Nabi* PBUH), Syed Amir Ali's *Spirit of Islam* and the English version of Shibli No'mani's *Al-Farooq*, which Toosi believed, must have created deep impact on his personality. Jinnah was neither an overtly religious person, nor a spiritual leader. He never claimed himself to be a pious person. He often said that he was not a Maulana but an ordinary Muslim having human weaknesses. It is understandable that only the Prophets enjoyed immunity from sins and human weaknesses. Jinnah was a human being not free of faults. Yet he was not a hypocrite and abhorred hypocrisy in all its forms; double standards, extravagance, pomp and show. He always spoke with sincerity in public meetings and never played to the gallery or with the emotions of the people. If we study his speeches and statements with this background and the

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14. Zaheer-ul-Islam Farooqi, *Maqsad-e-Pakistan* (Urdu), (Lahore: Majlis-e-Akhuwat-i-Islamia, 1981), p.221.

quality of his character in mind, we would be driven to the conclusion that selfless service to the cause of Islam and Muslims was the greatest mission of his life. That is why his speeches, statements and interviews are full of references to Islam and Muslims. He addressed a large number of meetings and repeatedly said that the Muslims need not borrow the concept or practice of democracy from others because we had learnt democracy 1300 years ago. He said it many times that *Uswa-i Hasanah* (the way of life practised by the Holy Prophet) was the perfect example for Muslims to emulate. He believed that as the Holy Prophet (PBUH) entered into pacts with the Christians, Jews and other minorities in Madinah (*Misaq-e Madinah*), we would follow his example and give equal rights to the minorities in Pakistan. This is what the Quaid sincerely believed and consistently stated as a part of his political theme.

Unlike other Indian politicians, Jinnah shunned cheap popularity and never said anything without conviction. In order to discover true Jinnah, an excerpt from his address at the All India Muslim League session held in 1939 is reproduced here. It provides an insight into the true personality of Jinnah who is apparently seen in western dress and speaking flawless English but at heart he was a true Muslim. He said:

I have seen enough of the world and possess a lot of wealth. I have enjoyed all comforts of life. Now my only desire is to see the Muslims flourish and prosper as an independent community. I want to leave this world with a clean conscience and content with the feeling that Jinnah had not betrayed the cause of Islam and the Muslims. I do not want your praise nor any certificate. I only want that my heart, my conscience and my faith should prove at the time of my death that Jinnah died defending Islam and the cause of the Muslims. May my God testify that Jinnah lived and died as a Muslim fighting against the forces of 'kufar' and holding the flag of Islam high.<sup>15</sup>

Such a pious desire completely devoid of temporal motives, and his feeling of accountability and expectation of Allah's blessings could be the wish of a God-fearing person only. When Jinnah delivered this speech, he was 53 years old and was at the

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15. *Inqilab* (Urdu), Lahore, 22 October 1939.



pinnacle of his popularity. In this background, we may recall the dream of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi<sup>16</sup> who once told his nephew, Maulana Zafar Ahmad Osmani, that he had a strange dream:

I saw a large crowd of people as if it is the Day of Judgement. The gathering included a galaxy of ulema, religious scholars, spiritual personalities and reformers all sitting in chairs among standing crowd and Muhammad Ali Jinnah wearing Arab dress is one of them. I asked myself in the dream 'how come Muhammad Ali Jinnah is there in such a galaxy of great people'. Immediately, it was revealed to me that 'Jinnah has been given this position because he is doing great service to the Muslims and Islam these days'.<sup>17</sup>

Surely this must be the reward for such services. Maulana Thanvi had also told Maulana Zafar Ahmad Osmani and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani four years before the establishment of Pakistan on 4th July 1943 'that the Pakistan Resolution passed in 1940 would be materialised and Pakistan would come into being'. He further told them that he was approaching his last days otherwise he would have devoted himself to the cause of Pakistan.

It is Allah's will that the Muslims of the subcontinent must have their separate homeland. Please spare no effort for Pakistan and also tell your followers to work for it. One of you will lead my funeral prayers and the other the funeral prayers of Muhammad Ali Jinnah.<sup>18</sup>

From his early days to late thirties, Jinnah termed the Muslims as a minority. As a chosen leader of this largest minority community, he had been fighting for their rights but Nehru Report (1928) gave him a new direction. This compelled Jinnah, the "ambassador of unity" to declare parting of ways with the Congress. The Congress rule (1937-39) proved to be the turning

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16 Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, a religious leader, scholar and author of many books on Islam. The Maulana was also a spiritual personality with a large following in the subcontinent and abroad.

17. Munshi Abdul Rehman, p.92.

18. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi died before the establishment of Pakistan. Maulana Zafar Ahmad Osmani led his funeral prayers and that of the Quaid-i-Azam by Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani as prophesied by Maulana Thanvi. Those of our readers who are not mystically inclined and do not believe in the dreams, would appreciate the prescience and vision of these admittedly influential religious scholars whose predictions came true. Munshi Abdul Rehman, *Quaid-i-Azam ka Mazhab aur Aqeedah* (Urdu), p.249.

point that paved way for the Lahore Resolution, which was later, called Pakistan Resolution. For the first time, Quaid-i-Azam used the term of 'Muslim Nation' on this occasion and demanded a separate homeland for them. He said:

It has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Mussalmans are a minority and we have got used to it... These settled notions are difficult to remove. The Mussalmans are not a minority. The Mussalmans are a nation by any definition.... The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies ... To yoke together two such nations under a single state must lead to final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.<sup>19</sup>

Thus religion was the cornerstone and Lahore Resolution the high watermark of journey from Muslim minority to Muslim nationhood, which culminated in the establishment of Pakistan.

On the eve of the establishment of Pakistan the minorities question was again an important issue for the Quaid because the new country had a sizeable number of non-Muslims while in India the Muslims were still the largest minority whose protection was a matter of great concern for him.<sup>20</sup> Before and after the establishment of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam was frequently asked about the status of minorities. His reply was always reassuring and consistent. Replying to a question at a press conference held at New Delhi on 14 July 1947, he said:

Let me tell you that I shall not depart from what I said repeatedly with regard to minorities. I meant what I said and what I said I meant. They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, life and culture. They will be citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed.<sup>21</sup>

Replying to a question whether Pakistan would be a secular or theocratic state, the Quaid categorically stated:

You are asking me a question that is absurd. What I have already said is like throwing water on a duck's back. When you talk of

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19. Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. II (Lahore: Bazm-e-Iqbal, 1996), pp.1177-81.

20. See Quaid-i-Azam's statements issued on 14th July, 15th September, 17th September and 25th October 1947.

21. S.M. Burke, p.13.

democracy, I am afraid you have not studied Islam. We learned democracy thirteenth centuries ago.<sup>22</sup>

The important question is: what kind of democracy the Muslims had learnt thirteenth hundred years ago? Was it secular, ideological or Islamic? Jinnah's speech delivered on 11th August 1947 as the first President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan should be studied in this perspective as an important part of the on going debate. It is not fair to read it in isolation. Many people interpret the speech to claim that the Quaid-i-Azam had visualised Pakistan to be a secular democracy while the other school of thought believes that it is a wrong and illogical interpretation of the Quaid's address. Their point of view is that firstly the conclusion drawn by the supporters of secularism is incorrect and secondly the speech should not be interpreted as a single and separate statement to draw any conclusion about his vision of Pakistan without placing them in their proper context.

Let us see what Quaid had actually said in his speech of 11th August 1947. The Quaid, in fact, had identified some basic problems facing the new born country and had also given pertinent advice to the people of Pakistan as Father of the Nation. In order to understand the full impact of his speech we should read it with reference to the context and background of the then prevailing events. He said that:

With your cooperation, we shall make this assembly an example to the world. The assembly has a dual responsibility of framing the country's constitution and performing the legislative business. This is an important responsibility... The Government's foremost duty is to maintain law and order so that the life, property and religious beliefs of the people are fully protected. One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering is corruption and bribery. That really is poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so. Another curse is the black marketing. You have to tackle this monster. The next thing that strikes me is the evil of nepotism and jobbery... I know that some people do not agree with the partition of Bengal and Punjab. In my judgement there was no other solution. Any idea of a united India could never have worked and in my judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster. Now

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22. *Ibid.* p.15.

what shall we do? If we want Pakistan to be a prosperous and great state then we would have to devote ourselves for the welfare and betterment of the people. If you work in cooperation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community, colour, creed or caste he belongs is first, second and last a citizen of this state with equal rights, there will be no end to your progress. In course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, Muslims and Hindus, will vanish because as far as the Muslims are concerned there are Pathans, Punjabis, Shi'a and Sunnis. Similarly among Hindus there are Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khattris, Bengalees and Madrasis and so on. This division had been the biggest hindrance in achieving independence. We must learn a lesson from this. You are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of your worship. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed — that has nothing to do with the business of state. There was a time when conditions in England were worse than India. The Protestants and Roman Catholics persecuted each other. Thank God ... we are starting in the days when there is no discrimination. Now in England the differences between Protestants and Roman Catholics have come to an end and they are living as equal citizens of their state. They are all members of the nation ... I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in religious sense because that is the personal faith of each citizen, but in political sense as citizens of the state.<sup>23</sup>

First of all, it must be kept in mind that Quaid's address on 11 August was "neither thought out beforehand nor formulated deliberately. For most part, it was off the cuff."<sup>24</sup> That is why the Quaid himself said in the speech: "I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment but I shall say a few things as they occur to me."<sup>25</sup>

Secondly, the principle of equality enunciated in this speech had been reiterated by the Quaid many times during the period of struggle. He had also been referring to "*Misaq-e Madinah*" in this connection in order to reinforce his commitment. Prof. Sharif al Mujahid has rightly observed that Jinnah's "national framework,

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23. *Ibid.*, pp.25-29.

24. Sharif al Mujahid, "Jinnah's August 11 Address", *Dawn*, December 25, 2001.

25. S.M. Burke, p.26.

comprising both Muslims and non-Muslims as equal citizens of a political unit, has a hallowed Islamic precedent,<sup>26</sup> because *Misaq-e Madinah*<sup>27</sup> (622/23), described as the first written constitution of the world by Dr. Hamidullah, accorded equal rights to all, including religious minorities, as equal citizens of the state. The Quaid had exactly the same principle in mind, which has been misinterpreted as secularism by some writers:

Equality in terms of rights, privileges and responsibilities in a polity is today considered a secular value but long before this principle was discovered as a secular value, it was enshrined as an Islamic value in the *Misaq* and that by the prophet (peace be upon him) himself.<sup>28</sup>

The Quaid opposed theocracy because the concept does not exist in Islam. Iqbal finds democracy closer to the Islamic framework and assigns the power of *Ijtihad* (interpretation) to the elected representatives. Iqbal states:

The first question that arises in this connection is this: Should the caliphate be vested in a single person? Turkey's *Ijtihad* is that according to the spirit of Islam the caliphate or Imamate can be vested in a body of persons, or an elected Assembly... Personally, I believe the Turkish view is perfectly sound. It is hardly necessary to argue this point. The republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam.<sup>29</sup>

In this perspective, the Quaid envisioned Pakistan as a progressive, modern and Islamic democracy because he did not find any clash or conflict within these concepts. Careful study of Jinnah's speeches and statements reveals the fact that the word 'secularism' does not occur even once in his speeches or writings while Islam had been the constant and consistent theme of his vision throughout. Was it meant to woo the masses? Certainly not. The Quaid was a man of integrity who would never make false

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26. Sharif al Mujahid.

27. For details see, M. Rafique Dogar, *Al-Ameen* (Lahore: Deed Shuneed Publishers, 2000), pp.93-139.

28. Sharif al Mujahid.

29. Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1960), p.157.

promises nor would he raise wrong expectations. Honesty, straightforwardness and transparency were some of the prominent traits of his character, which won him the confidence of the Indian Muslims.

Quaid's speech of 11th August 1947 was intended to provide a sense of security as well as to reiterate his commitment of complete religious freedom and equal rights to the minorities, which was perfectly in line with his previous position. The Quaid also made a fervent appeal to the people to forge unity, which was the key to progress and development of Pakistan. Further, the speech aimed at dispelling the Indian propaganda that Pakistan would be a theocratic state where the minorities would be kept as 'slaves'.

Before and after this speech, the Quaid-i-Azam had been saying that tolerance is the basic principle of Islam. In his inaugural address to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 14 August 1947, the Quaid-i-Azam, while replying to the address of Lord Mountbatten, reiterated emphatically his commitment to the principle of tolerance in Islam. Lord Mountbatten had referred to Moghul Emperor Akbar's generous behaviour towards the Hindus. The Quaid-i-Azam said:

The tolerance and goodwill that Emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslims is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet (PBUH) not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians, after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs.<sup>30</sup>

Obviously, the Quaid again referred to the *Misaq-e Madinah* and the Holy Prophet (PBUH) as his role model i.e. *Uswa-e-Hasnah*.

It is important to note that the crux of the matter or the central theme of his 11 August speech was again explained by the Quaid himself in an interview given to the *Reuters* correspondent on 25 October 1947. He said:

I have repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech to the Constituent Assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be

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30. S.M. Burke, p.33-34.

treated as our citizens and will enjoy all the rights... Pakistan will pursue that policy and do all it can to create a sense of security and confidence in non-Muslim minorities.<sup>31</sup>

Many of the writers who interpret Quaid's speech of 11 August as a basis of secularism quote only few sentences without any reference to his previous and later statements and also fail to mention his interview to *Reuter's* news agency of 25 October 1947. Their perception of equal rights and equal citizenship for the minorities has a linkage only with secularism whereas it is an integral part of the Islamic system. As already stated, the same principles were enshrined in the *Misaq-e Madinah*, repeatedly referred to by the Quaid and significantly ignored by the western commentators and authors.

We have already discussed that Jinnah had been trying to a large extent, to follow the principles of Islam in his private life and his various decisions concerning his personal life showed the true Islamic spirit. He had thoroughly studied Islamic literature, translations and commentaries on Holy Qur'an as well as books on the life of the Prophet (PBUH) and the Caliphs. A large number of his speeches, statements and interviews extending over four decades of his political life, indicate Jinnah's deep seated attachment to religion, yet he was neither a *maulvi*, a *sufi*, a religious person or a saint. His personality had a unique of truthfulness, honesty, integrity, steadfastness, unblemished character and sincere commitment to the cause of South Asian Muslims. And he made much greater contribution and left deeper imprints on history than his contemporary ulema, sufis and saints.

In order to understand the Quaid's vision of Pakistan, reliance has to be made on his statements, repeatedly made over a long period of time. One can find his vision of Pakistan and the kind of social, constitutional, political and administrative system that he visualised for Pakistani society. It is an interesting phenomenon that the Quaid's statements as the Governor General of Pakistan reflect greater religious propensity than before.

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31. *Ibid.*, p.61.

On 26 November 1945, the Quaid-i-Azam said at Peshawar:

You have asked me in your welcome address what would be the law (constitution) in Pakistan. It is an absurd question. Muslims have faith in one God, one Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and one Book. This is the only law for the Muslims. Islam will be the basic law of Pakistan and no law repugnant to Islam will be enforced in Pakistan.<sup>32</sup>

Addressing the Shahi Darbar at Sibi in Balochistan on 14 February 1948, the Quaid said:

It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great lawgiver, the Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him). Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles.<sup>33</sup>

Addressing a public meeting at Lahore on 30 October 1947 the Quaid-i-Azam said:

If we take our inspiration and guidance from Holy Quran the final victory will be ours. All I require of you now is that everyone of us to whom this message reaches must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam.<sup>34</sup>

Addressing the Karachi Bar Association on the occasion of *Eid Miladun-Nabi* on 25th January 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam said:

He could not understand a section of the people who deliberately wanted to create mischief and made propaganda that the constitution of Pakistan would not be made on the basis of Shari'at... Islamic principles today are as applicable to life as they were thirteen hundred years ago ... Non-Muslims have nothing to fear ... Islam has taught us democracy. Let us make it (the future constitution of Pakistan). We shall make it and we will show it to the world.<sup>35</sup>

It is important to note that these statements made by the Quaid as the Governor-General of Pakistan were policy announcements.

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32. Quoted in Malik Habib Ullah, *Quaid-e-Azam ki Shakhshiyat ka Roohani Pehloo* (Urdu), (Lahore: N.p., 1998), p.123. See also Hanif Shahid, p.84.

33. S.M. Burke, p.iii.

34. M. Rafique Afzal, pp.447-448.

35. *Ibid.*, p.455.



In his address to the people of Australia on 19 February 1948, he observed, “the great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). We are members of the brotherhood of Islam... But make no mistake: Pakistan is not a theocracy”.<sup>36</sup>

Then came the last word on the subject in the form of Quaid's broadcast to the people of the USA in which he dispelled all doubts and put an end to the debate regarding the future shape of Pakistan's constitution and Quaid's vision of Pakistan. He declared emphatically:

The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed... I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of men, justice and fair play to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state — to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have non-Muslims — they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy same rights and privileges as any other citizen.<sup>37</sup>

These quotations from some of his statements clearly spell out Quaid's vision of Pakistan. Precision and clarity are the hallmark of his speeches yet his ideas can only be discerned by rising above our personal motives and agendas.

Hardly any departure or deviation is perceptible in his thought process regarding the future shape of Pakistan. The Quaid had been saying all along that Islam is a complete code of life; Qur'an is our guide; *Seerat-un Nabi* is the highest form of example for us to emulate; Islam taught us democracy 1300 years ago and those principles are still applicable. Pakistan will have a democratic constitution based on Islamic principles and minorities will be treated as equal citizens with all the rights and privileges in accordance with the spirit of *Misaq-e Madinah*. He identified those

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36. S.M. Burke, p.118.

37. S.M. Burke, p.125.

people as 'mischief mongers' who propagated that Pakistan's constitution would not be based on Islamic Shari'at.

The discussion would, therefore, lead to the following conclusions:

- i. Quaid-i-Azam was neither a secular nor a religious but a progressive and moderate Mussalman.
- ii. He was against theocracy as well as sectarianism.
- iii. Secularism does not occur anywhere in his speeches and statements.
- iv. He envisioned Pakistan to be a modern, egalitarian and democratic state based on the principles of Islam.